

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 0690

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR, TW, XJ
SUBJ: CODEL BRADEMAS/SCHWEIKER MEETING WITH PRC FOREIGN
MINISTER HUANG HUA

REF: PEKING 645

1. SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA RECEIVED CODEL
BRADEMAS/SCHWEIKER APRIL 11 AND HOSTED INFORMAL LUNCH.
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION WAS CONTINUED AT LUNCH;
SUBSTANTIVE CONVERSATION RAN NEARLY TWO HOURS. HUANG'S
COMMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, INCLUDING HELSINKI
AND DISARMAMENT, WERE ALONG THE STANDARD LINES THE
CHINESE HAD FOLLOWED IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS A WEEK EARLIER
WITH WEST GERMAN DELEGATION (REFTEL). HUANG SPOKE AT
SOME LENGTH ON THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEM AND APPROV-
INLY QUOTED MRS. THATCHER'S VIEW THAT SOVIET DOMINATION
OF THE AREA WOULD BE A THREAT TO THE WEST. HE STATED
THE PRC'S FAMILIAR POSITION ON NORMALIZATION QUITE
FULLY, REITERATING THAT NO PRC LEADER WOULD VISIT
U.S. WHILE "CHIANG CLIQUE" HAS EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON
AND THAT LACK OF NORMAL RELATIONS PUTS LIMITS ON
SINO-US EXCHANGES. BECAUSE OF "COUNTER-REVOLUTION-
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ARIES" ON TAIWAN, HUANG SAID, "IT SEEMS TO BE IMPERATIVE
TO RESORT TO ARMS TO LIBERATE TAIWAN." ASKED
HOW HE VIEWED PRESIDENT'S POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS,
HUANG SPOKE AS IF THE PROBLEM EXISTED SOLELY IN
THE SOVIET UNION. THERE, HE MAINTAINED, THE QUESTION
IS NOT HUMAN RIGHTS BUT WHEN THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL
RISE UP AGAINST "FASCIST RULE AT HOME AND EXPANSION

ABROAD." END SUMMARY.

2. AT OUTSET OF SESSION, CONGRESSMAN BRADEMÁS CONVEYED BRZEZINKI'S THREE POINTS ABOUT SINO-U.S. RELATIONSHIP. HUANG DID NOT COMMENT EXPLICITLY ON THESE, THOUGH HIS DISCUSSION OF AFRICA IN PARTICULAR APPEARED TO TAKE THEM INTO ACCOUNT. HIS REMARKS ABOUT TAIWAN AND NORMALIZATION WERE PROBABLY PROMPTED BY BRADEMÁS PITCH FOR INCREASED BILATERAL EXCHANGES AND FOR VISIT TO U.S. BY RANKING PRC LEADERS SUCH AS THE MINISTER OR CHAIRMAN HUA. FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS OF HUANG'S COMMENTS, NEARLY VERBATIM, FROM UNCLEARED MEMCON. FULL MEMCON WILL BE SENT SEPTEL.

3. SINO-U.S. RELATIONS (AFTER A REVIEW OF IMPROVED RELATIONS FOLLOWING 1972 NIXON VISIT):
"BUT A CRUCIAL QUESTION IN SINO-U.S. RELATIONS REMAINS OUTSTANDING--THAT IS THE ISSUE OF TAIWAN. TAIWAN IS CHINESE TERRITORY. THE TAIWAN PEOPLE ARE CHINESE PEOPLE. THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN IS AN INTERNAL CHINESE AFFAIR IN WHICH NO FOREIGN COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE. WHEN AND HOW WE LIBERATE TAIWAN IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR OF CHINA. SINCE THERE IS A BUNCH OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES ON TAIWAN IT SEEMS IMPERATIVE TO RESORT TO ARMS TO LIBERATE TAIWAN. SOME AMERICANS ARE ALWAYS THINKING OF CREATING TWO CHINAS. THEY WANT TO ASK CHINA TO UNDERTAKE THE OBLIGATION NOT TO USE FORCE. THIS IS INTERFERENCE IN CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS WHICH WE CAN NEVER
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ACCEPT. IT RUNS DIAMETRICALLY COUNTER TO THE PRINCIPLES IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AGREED TO BY THE TWO SIDES. TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS, THE TAIWAN ISSUE MUST BE SETTLED. OUR POSITION IS CLEARCUT:

- 1) THE U.S. MUST SEVER DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE CHIANG CLIQUE IN TAIWAN.
 - 2) IT MUST WITHDRAW ALL MILITARY FORCES AND INSTALLATIONS.
 - 3) IT MUST ABROGATE ITS DEFENSE TREATY WITH THE CHIANG CLIQUE.
- NO ONE OF THESE THREE CONDITIONS IS DISPENSABLE.

4. IN SINO-U.S. RELATIONS, IF THE TAIWAN ISSUE IS NOT SETTLED, TRADE, CULTURAL AND OTHER EXCHANGES WILL BE SOMEWHAT LIMITED. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SEE A BIG INCREASE IN THESE EXCHANGES. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR CHINA TO SEND HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS TO VISIT THE U.S. THE REASON IS SIMPLE; THE CHIEF OF USLO, MR. GATES, KNOWS IT WELL. IN PEKING THERE IS NO OTHER U.S. EMBASSY. IN WASHINGTON THERE IS A CHIANG CLIQUE

EMBASSY. HOW IS IT POSSIBLE FOR CHINA TO SEND A
HIGH-RANKING OFFICIAL TO THE U.S. UNDER THESE
CIRCUMSTANCES?

5. HUMAN RIGHTS. (IN RESPONSE TO REP. MIKULSKI'S
QUESTION ABOUT CHINA'S REACTION TO PRESIDENT'S POLICY.)
PEOPLE ARE NOT JUST AN ABSTRACT TERM. THEY FALL INTO
DIFFERENT CLASSES AND RIGHTS ARE DIFFERENT IN THE
CASES OF DIFFERENT CLASSES. AS FOR THE SOVIET UNION,
THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS OPPRESSING AND EXPLOITING
THE BROAD MASSES OF LABORING PEOPLE AND THE MAJORITY
OF THE LABORING PEOPLE HAVE NO RIGHTS. IN ORDER TO
CHANGE THE PRESENT SITUATION WHERE THE SOVIET UNION
IS UNDER FASCIST RULE AT HOME AND EXPANSION
ABROAD, THE SOVIET PEOPLE MUST RISE UP. THE QUESTION IS
NOT ONE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BUT OF REVOLUTION.

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6. AFRICA. AFRICA IS STRIVING FOR COMPLETE LIBERATION
OF THE CONTINENT. IT WILL FINALLY ATTAIN THIS
GOAL AND WIN THE VICTORY. CHINA HAS NO SPECIAL
INTEREST IN AFRICA TO SEEK OR RIGHTS TO PROTECT.
WE DEMAND NO PRIVILEGE. OUR INTEREST IN AFRICA IS
TO SUPPORT AFRICAN STATES AND PEOPLE AGAINST THE
RIVALRIES OF THE SUPERPOWERS AND AGAINST THE
EXPANSIONISM AND AGRESSION OF THE SUPERPOWERS,
AND TO SUPPORT TOTAL LIBERATION OF THE CONTINENT.
OUR BASIC POSITION AND MOTIVES CONCERNING AFRICA
ARE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE U.S. AND THE OTHER
SUPERPOWER. IN AFRICA ONE SUPERPOWER IS CARRYING
OUT EXPANSIONISM AND AGGRESSIVENESS AND THE OTHER

IS TRYING TO PRESERVE ITS VESTED INTEREST. THERE
IS ONE OTHER POINT OF COMMON CONCERN, SOVIET
EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION. AFTER ANGOLA THE SOVIETS
HAVE GOTTEN FURTHER INTO ZAIRE. IN MY VIEW THE
SOVIETS' USE OF MERCENARIES TO INVAD ZAIRE IS PART
OF THE ACTIONS TO GRAB WORLD HEGEMONY. IT IS NOT
ISOLATED OR ACCIDENTAL. IF WE LINK THE SOVIETS'
ACTIONS IN THE TWO COUNTRIES TO THE PODGORNY AND CASTRO
VISITS WE CAN SEE THE SOVIETS HAVE STARTED A NEW
ROUND OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY OFFENSIVES IN
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AFRICA. WE HAVE STATED THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S
AND PEOPLE'S POSITION CLEARLY, WE SUPPORT THE
TWO PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS AND OTHER AFRICAN
COUNTRIES AGAINST THE EXPANSION AND AGGRESSIVE
ACTS OF THE SOVIET UNION. (HERE HUANG QUOTED
MRS. THACHER'S STATEMENT ABOUT THE STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS
OF THE SOVIET UNION'S ACTIONS IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA.) WE THINK THAT IN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE THE
U.S. RESPONSE HAS BEEN VERY WEAK. THIS WILL ONLY
LEAD TO INFLATING THE AMBITIONS OF THE SOVIETS
FOR EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION. CONCERNING AFRICA,
AS OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE DIFFERENT POSITIONS AND
MOTIVES, WE CAN ONLY ACT IN OUR OWN WAY. YOU
REGARD THE VORSTER AND SMITH REGIMES AS FORCES
TO BE RELIED ON IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE THINK THAT
THIS IS NOT IN THE STRATEGIC INTEREST OF THE U.S.
THE VORSTER AND SMITH REGIMES ARE NOT A PLUS BUT
A MINUS FOR THE WEST. IN AFRICA IF THE U.S.
AND THE WEST DON'T ADOPT A POLICY IN SUPPORT OF
REALIZING MAJORITY AFRICAN RULE IN RHODESIA AND
LIBERATION OF THE FRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA,
THIS WILL ONLY GIVE THE SOVIET UNION A CHANCE TO
MISLEAD AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND PEOPLE AND CARRY
OUT EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION.

7. COMMON INTERESTS. (AFTER SENATOR DURKIN ASKED
IF HUANG'S REMARK ABOUT UNITING WITH ALL THAT COULD
BE UNITED WITH AGAINST SOVIET EXPANSION IMPLIED
THAT U.S. AND PRC SHOULD EXPLORE AN AGREEMENT FOR
OPPOSING SOVIET EXPANSION.) I DID NOT IMPLY THAT
CHINA SHOULD SEEK AN AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. I
ONLY TRIED TO EXPLAIN THAT ON THIS QUESTION, AND
TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, OUR TWO SIDES MAY HAVE SOME
COMMON VIEWS AND FACE COMMON PROBLEMS. I CONSIDER
THIS TO BE A QUESTION OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE....IN
THE OVER-ALL GLOBAL SITUATION THE U.S. AND USSR ARE
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THE SOURCES OF UNREST. OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS
THE SOVIETS ARE THE MAIN SOURCE OF THE DANGER OF WAR,
THEREFORE ALL FORCES EXPOSED TO SOVIET
AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION SHOULD TELL THE PEOPLE OF
THE DANGER AND ADOPT A COMMON POLICY OF RESISTANCE
TO DEAL WITH THE THREAT. THIS IS IMPERATIVE FOR ALL
PEOPLES OF THE WORLD--NOT JUST THE US AND CHINA--
INCLUDING YOUR ALLIES IN WEST EUROPE. CONTRARY TO
THIS AN APPEASEMENT POLICY AND THE SONNENFELDT
DOCTRINE WILL ONLY BRING PERIL ON OURSELVES AND
STRENGTHEN THE TIGER.
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